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GUACANAGARI	PONTIAC	BLACK HAWK
MONTEZUMA	CAPTAIN PIPE	KEOKUK
QUATTIMOTZIN	LOGAN	SACAGAWEA
POWHATAN	CORNPLANTER	BENITO HUIAREZ
POCAHONTAS	JOSEPH BRANT	MANGUS
SAMCISET	RED JACKET	COLORADAS
MASSASOIT	LITTLE TURTLE	LITTLE CROW
KING PHILIP	TICUMSEH	SITTING BULL
UNCAS	OSCEOLA	CHIEF JOSEPH
TEDVUSKUNG	SEQUOYA	GERONIMO
	SHABONEE	



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THE MODERN DIALECT OF THE CANADIAN ABENAKIS

The existing representatives of the Algonquin or Algie race may be separated linguistically into three divisions, i. e. the Blackfeet of the extreme west whose idiom differs most greatly from all the other dialects ¹⁾; the Cree-Ojibwe of the middle west which embraces a number of closely allied linguistic variations ²⁾, and the Abenaki races of the eastern coast, one of whose languages it is the purpose of the present paper to discuss. It should be noted that the Algie languages like all American idioms are polysynthetic.

This name *Abenaki* 'land of the dawn or east' is the common native appellation of the Algie tribes of Lower Canada and Maine, as well as of the Delaware or Lenápians ³⁾ who were once the dominant people from the Hudson to the Potomac. Thus, the Abenakis of Canada and the Penobscots of Maine call themselves and their kindred *Wonhbanaki* ⁴⁾ (*Abenaki* is merely a French corruption); while we find the forms *Wabanaki* among the Passamaquoddy-Maliseets of Maine and New Brunswick and the widely spread Micmac tribe of eastern Canada, and *Wapanakhki* among the Delawares. There has been some dis-

¹⁾ Cf. J. W. TINS, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Blackfoot Language*, London, 1889.

²⁾ Cf. HORDEN, *Grammar of the Cree Language*, London, 1881; WILSON, *The Ojibwoy Language*, Toronto, 1874.

³⁾ Cf. BRINTON, *The Lenápe and their Legends*, Philadelphia, 1885; *A Lenápe-English Dictionary*, Philadelphia, 1888.

⁴⁾ For the pronouns, see below.

pute as to the exact meaning of this term. Among the Canadian Abenakis it is explained as being derived from *wonhban* 'day-break or east' and *aki* 'land, country', but both the modern Abenakis and the Passamaquoddies use it also in the sense of 'a man from the east'. A precisely parallel usage is the modern Abenaki term *Nibenaki* which means both 'land of the south' and 'man from the south'. When we compare, however, the other gentile forms of this dialect, we find that to apply a noun ending with the word-*aki*-ki 'country' to persons belonging to that country is not as a rule in accordance with the genius of the language. Thus, we find *Paston*-ki¹⁾ 'the United States' but *Pastoni* 'American'; *Molian* 'Montreal', but *Moliani* 'a Montrealer', etc. It appears from these and many similar forms that the true gentile ending is *-i*. This apparent discrepancy has led Brinton, for example, to deny absolutely that *Wonhbanaki* can ever mean 'people of the east'²⁾. It is quite possible, however, that such terms as *Wonhbanaki*, *Nibenaki* when applied as *gentilicia* actually contain the gentile *-i* contracted in the last syllable, e.g. that *Wonhbanaki* 'man from the east' should really be pronounced *Wonhbanaki-i*. It is interesting to note in this connexion that as early as the seventeenth century, Algonic Indians who came to Montreal retained the tradition that they had at one time owned territory toward the east, from which they had been driven by the Huron-Iroquois. Indeed, it is highly probable, both from the significant name Abenaki-*Wonhbanaki* and from the common traditions of all the Algonic tribes, that the origin of the parent nucleus of their race was somewhere on the eastern coast, possibly in the neighbourhood of Labrador.

The Abenaki Indians of Canada, with whom we are especially concerned, now number scarcely more than

¹⁾ *Paston* is the Indian form of Boston. It is used for all the United States Territory by Abenakis and Passamaquoddies.

²⁾ *The Lenapé and their Legends*, p. 256.

300-350 souls, nearly all resident at the Indian village of St. Francis, near Pierreville, Que. These people who are the only clan retaining the ancient intertribal appellation as a distinctly local term, are, together with their Penobscot kindred of Maine, the sole representatives of the once powerful nation which until the middle of the seventeenth century ranged the forests of New Brunswick and New Hampshire with but little hindrance from the whites. The Abenakis of Canada are the direct descendants, with some admixture of French and other blood, of the majority of the savages who escaped from the great battle of the Kennebec in Maine, where, on Dec. 3rd, 1679, the English general Bradford finally overthrew their tribe¹). In consequence of this severe defeat more than seven hundred savages were killed or mortally wounded and the greater part of the survivors betook themselves to Canada where they began to arrive in Jan. 1680. A certain number of them almost immediately settled in the present village of St. Francis which they named *Arsikantekw*, lit. 'river where no human beings are'²) probably owing to the fact that just before their arrival the Iroquois had massacred the former French inhabitants of the place. The modern Penobscots, who now live in a similar village at Oldtown, Me. on the Penobscot river, are in all probability the descendants of those of the early Abenakis who submitted themselves to the victorious English in 1679.

Fortunately for philologists the Abenakis accepted the Roman Catholic religion very early in their history, as

¹) TRUMBULL, *Indian Wars* pp. 96-7.

²) *Arsikantekw* is composed of the elements *arsi* 'empty': *kan*, an infix which signifies 'cabin', and the suffix *-tekw* which always means 'river'; of *tego* 'wave'. The modern form of the word is *Alsikontekw* which the Indians wrongly connect with *als* 'shell' and translate 'river where shells abound. *Als* appears, however, as *ess* in the older language. See on this subject. GILL, *Notes sur les Vieux Manuscrits Abenakis* pp. 13 ff. Montreal, 1886.

the activity of the Jesuit missionaries has supplied us with copious examples of the language in its ancient form. The best known of these works is undoubtedly the Dictionary of Father Rasles published by John Pickering from the author's original manuscript, but there are at least six others still unpublished in the possession of the mission of St. Francis, the most important of which is a much fuller dictionary by Aubéry who was in charge of the Abenaki mission from 1709 until 1755¹). Owing to the fact that most of the Indians now speak and read French, there are very few literary specimens of their modern idiom²) which is, however, still vigorously alive at St. Francis and at Oldtown, Me., although, as was but natural, the Abenaki and Penobscot dialects have differentiated very perceptibly during the centuries of separation.

It is the purpose of this paper to discuss briefly the chief peculiarities of the Abenaki idiom as it is now spoken, illustrating as far as may be done within such limits the differences between the language of the last century and the idioms of to-day and to a certain extent between the Abenaki in general and the kindred dialects, especially the Passamaquoddy of Maine. Nearly all the material for the present article has been gathered orally from Abenaki and Penobscot Indians³).

The phonetics of these dialects are comparatively simple. In pronouncing the Indian words in the following paper, the consonants should be sounded as in English with the exception of *kh* = German *ch* in *ach*, *nh* = the Fr. nasal *n*,

¹) These have all been described by Gill (op. cit.). Aubéry's dictionary is at present in the possession of the Very Rev. M. C. O'Brien, V. G. Bangor, Me.

²) Especially New familiar Abenaki and English Dialogues by Joseph Laurent, Abenaki Chief, Quebec, 1884. There are also a few devotional cards containing R. C. prayers and aspirations.

³) Chiefly at Bar Harbour, Me. I have also made extensive use of Laurent's work, but always after testing the material orally.

'which represents a voice-stop, not unlike the Arabic ayin, and *l* which after *a*, *o* and *u* has a sound like Polish *l*. *H* is a medial aspirate similar to the Arabic medial *Hē* and *p*, *t*, *k* are voiceless *tenues*. The only weak consonant is initial *w* which is barely sounded and which consequently falls away in combinations; thus, *wonhbi* 'white' is pronounced almost as *onhbi* and the compound word *-wigamigw* 'house' generally becomes *-igamigw*, unless preceded by a pure dental; thus, *kaos-igamigw* 'cow-house', but *k'bahodwigamigw* 'prison' ('house of detention'). The only phonetic change of importance between the modern and the ancient dialects is the change of original *r* to *l*. So far as I am aware, the only Algic idioms which still use *r* are the Montagnais language of Labrador and a dialect of the Cree spoken near James's Bay, which approaches closely to Montagnais. The Abn. vowels are pronounced as in Italian. We must note, however, that the apostrophe represents a very short *ū* like that in the Eng. 'but'. The intonation of the Abn. is very monotonous, as every syllable has practically the same accented value, unlike the Passamaquoddy which shows an elaborate system of tones. The accent of the Penobscots is slightly more nasal than that of the Abenakis of Canada.

The principles of polysynthetic word-formation are too well known to require elaboration in a limited article like the present treatise. It is sufficient to note that all polysynthetic idioms build up words and often sentences from original radicals which were in all probability primitively monosyllabic, either by means of prefixes and suffixes which were themselves once separate words, or, by combining the radicals with other radicals. It is therefore not proper in a treatise on a language like Abenaki to allude to «parts of speech» such as nouns, verbs, etc., as the original words were really only «indifferent themes»¹⁾ which

¹⁾ Cf. BRINTON, *Lendapé*, p. 89.

may be used practically in any sense, be it nominal or verbal. To illustrate this, let us take the following examples in Abn. Given the root $\sqrt{kiz}$, the primary signification of which is probably successful action, we find a) *kizi* 'already, after' and also used as the regular sign of the past in verbs; cf. *kizinamito* 'he has seen it', b) *kizito* 'he has made it' and c) *kizos* 'sun, moon, month'; also *kizoku* 'day' where the idea seems to be the beginning of a period of time. The word *kizonhban* 'daybreak' from *kiz* + *wonhban* shows this satisfactorily. I may add that the term. -os means 'month' or 'period of time' as seen in *Temaskik-os* 'July', lit. 'mowing month' and that this same root $\sqrt{lemski}$ or simply $\sqrt{lem}$ is seen in the verb *nlemskizonhwa* 'I mow'; cf. *lemeshezowonhgan* 'mowing' and *tamahigan* 'axe', etc.

On the other hand, although there is no theoretical differentiation into parts of speech, it is necessary for convenience to use the accepted terminology in treating the grammatical peculiarities of these dialects.

The best method of studying the multitudinous variations of the Algie languages is through the substantival forms¹⁾, because the so-called verb of Algie speech is rather a participial system than a truly verbal series of conjugations. The fundamental principle of all the Algie dialects is their division of nature into two classes which we may call animate and inanimate. To denote these, they employ, in all the declinable parts of speech, two distinct sets of endings which are, however, practically identical in nouns, adjectives and verbs. It must be remembered, however, that certain objects which we should regard as animates, such as, for example, the sun, moon and stars, some articles of apparel, particularly those borrowed from the whites, and fruits, are classed by the Indians among the animates. This is of course due to the natural tendency of uncultured peoples to personify

¹⁾ For an admirable treatise on the substantive in Old Abenaki, see M. C. O'BRIEN, *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*. ix. pp. 261-294.

and thus ennoble natural forces or objects which are especially cherished. For this reason, some Algic specialists have called the two classes *noble* and *ignoble*, but as the division is undoubtedly based on belief in the presence or absence of life in the object spoken of, I retain the more logical terms. Grammatical gender is absolutely unknown in the Algic dialects. When it is necessary to differentiate between a male and female animal, this is done by prefixing or suffixing some determinative word. Thus, in Abn. *p'ziko aionhba* is 'bull-buffalo', but *p'ziko al-l'ha* is 'cow-buffalo'. The feminine of human beings is usually made by suffixing some form of the word for woman, e. g. *kinjames* 'king', but *kinjames-iskwa* 'queen'¹).

Turning to the Abn. substantival inflexion, we see that the ending of the an. pl. of nouns is *-k* and for the inan. *-l*, both of which may be preceded by the vowels *a*, *o*, and *i* according to the ending of the nouns. Those ending in *b*, *j*, *l*, *n*, *p*, *s*, or *z* usually take the pl. in *-ak*, *-al*; cf. *als-ak* 'shell', but *wakonhlikwes-il* 'wheel', while those in *m*, *n*, *kw*, and *gw* are inclined to *-ok*, *-ol*; cf. *p'hanem-ok* 'woman', *mēnahan-ol* 'island', *wanibagw-ol* 'leaf'. This is not invariable in the case of final *-m* or *-n*, however, as we find *aples-akuam-ak* 'apple-tree' and also *skamon-al* 'grain'. Those in *-ak*, *-ag* (*-k*, *-g*) generally take *-ik*, *-il*; cf. *wizawonhgamak-il* 'strait' and *askitameg-il* 'cucumber'. These endings *ik*, *il* are essentially those of the participles which have a *-d*, *-t* termination. These consonants usually palatalize in *j*: e g. *nottahasid*, but pl. *nottahasijik* 'miller'. Other nouns ending in *-t* are apt to take the *-ak*, *-al* termination, as *wejat-al* 'nerves'. Nouns ending in a vowel add simply *-k*, *-l* as *soga-k* 'lobster' *sata-l* 'blueberry', but these terminating in *-o* or *-i* take *-ak*, *-al* almost invariably, e. g. *msazesso-ak* 'white spruce' *anaskemezi-ak* 'oak' and

¹) The word *Kinjames* is merely a corruption of 'King James', the first king with whom the Abenakis had prolonged relations.

vedopi-al 'alder'. In the ancient language the pl. termination appears as *-ak*, *-ar*, but we find also *-ūk*, *-ūr* with monosyllables having a diphthong or long vowel and in some dissyllables and trisyllables with a long or accented penult; cf. *mis-ūk* 'moose', *agwiden-ūr* 'canoe'.

Similar vocalic variations occur in all the Algonic idioms based, as I believe in most cases, not on vowel harmony nor vocalic differentiation, but on the natural affinity of certain consonants for certain vowels. I admit, however, that in examples like Abn. *mēnahan-ol* 'island' and *skamon-al* 'grain', the principle of vocalic differentiation, so prominent in the Finnic agglutinative idioms, may be present. It is clear, moreover, from a careful study of these changes that the correct plural ending in Abenaki can be learned only by practice.

A highly important feature of the language, second only to the far-reaching differentiation of animate and inanimate nouns, is the combination of both the substantives and verbs with the personal pronouns, by means of which most of the inflexion is carried on. I give below a comparative table of the personal pronouns in Abn., Passamaquoddy and Lenapé. It will be noticed that these three languages, like all their Algonic congeners, have two first persons plural; An exclusive and an inclusive, the first of which implies that the person or persons addressed are not included, e. g. I and they, and the second includes both the speaker and the person addressed, as well as a number of others; I, you, and they.

	Abenaki.	Passamaquoddy.	Lenape.
I	<i>Nīa</i>	<i>Nil</i>	<i>Ni</i>
THOU	<i>Kīa</i>	<i>Kil</i>	<i>Ki</i>
HE	}	<i>Nēgum</i>	<i>Nika (Nikama)</i>
SHE			
IT			
WE (excl.)	<i>Nīūna</i>	<i>Nilun</i>	<i>Niluna</i>
WE (incl.)	<i>Kīūna</i>	<i>Kilun</i>	<i>Kiluna</i>
YOU	<i>Kīhacawonh</i> (anc. <i>Kirwa</i>)	<i>Kilwau</i>	<i>Kilwaca</i>
THEY	<i>Ag'monhwoonh</i> (anc. <i>w'wa</i>)	<i>Nēgumaw</i>	<i>Nekamawa.</i>

The primitive stems of the first, second and third persons are respectively *n*, *k*, and *w* or *o* which are prefixed above to certain demonstrative elements practically identical in all the dialects, and which are equally capable of being prefixed, both to nouns, to denote the possessive relation, and to verbs, to indicate conjugational inflexion. It will be observed, however, that the separate pronoun of the third person is represented by a demonstrative particle (*ag'ma*, *negum*, *nika*). This has nothing to do with the original *wa*, but is probably a combination of certain well known demonstrative particles. The following diagram will illustrate satisfactorily the Abenaki and Pass. method of combining the pronominal prefixes *n*, *k*, *w* (*o*), with the an. and inan. forms of the substantive, as well as with the same forms of the verb.

ANIMATE.

Abenaki.	<i>N'ndmihon nd-onhgem</i> 'I see my snow-shoe'
	<i>k'ndmihon kd-onhgem</i> 'thou seest thy snow-shoe'
	<i>un'dmihon ud-onhgem</i> 'he sees his snow-shoe'
	anc. <i>unamihanh r ud-angem ar</i>
	<i>n'namihónna nd-onhgem-ena</i> 'we (excl.) see our snow-shoe'
	<i>knamihónna kd-onhgem-ena</i> 'we (incl.) see our snow-shoe'
Pass.	<i>k'namihówo kd-onhgem-owo</i> 'you see your snow-shoe'
	<i>unamihówo ud-onhgem-owo</i> 'they see their snow-shoe'
	anc. <i>unamihavcanhr ud-angem-avcar</i>
	<i>N'nimiha nt-agim</i>
	<i>K'nimiha kt-agim</i>
	<i>W'nimiha wt-agim'l</i>
	<i>N'nimihónna nt-agim'n</i>
	<i>K'nimihónna kt-agim'n</i>
	<i>K'nimihówa kt-agim-uwa</i>
	<i>Unimihówal wt-agim-uwal</i>

PLURAL

<i>N'ndmihonk nd-onhgem-ak</i> 'I see my snow-shoes'
<i>K'ndmihonk kd-onhgem-ak</i> 'thou seest thy snow-shoes'
<i>ündmihonk ud-onhgem-a</i> 'he sees his snow-shoes'
<i>N'namihónna-wak nd-onhgem-enawak</i> 'we (excl.) see our snow-shoes'
<i>k'namihónna-wak kd-onhgem-enawak</i> 'we (incl.) see our snow-shoes'

K'namihōwōnk *kā-onhgem-owōk* 'you see your snow-shoes'
ūnamihōwōnk *ud-onhgem-owōnh* 'they see their snow-shoes'
 anc. *unamihawca* *ud-anhgem-ewa*.

Pass. *N'nimihak* *nt-agim-uk*
K'nimihak *kt-agim-uk*
W'nimihak *wt-agim*
N'nimihānnawuk *nt-agim-unuwuk*
K'nimihānnawuk *kt-agim-unuwuk*
K'nimihdōwak *kt-agim-uwōk*
Unimihdōwa *kt-agim-uwal*.

INANIMATE.

Abenaki. *n'ndmītōn* *ntamdhigān* 'I see my axe'
k'namītōn *kiamdhigān* 'thou seest thy axe'
undmītōn *utamdhigān* 'he sees his axe'
n'ndmītōnana *k'tamdhigān-na* 'we see our axe'
k'ndmītōnana *k'tamdhigān-na* 'we see our axe'
k'ndmītōnonh *k'tamahigan-owōnh* 'you see your axe'
undmītōnonh *utamahigan-owōnh* 'They see their axe'

Pass. *N'nimītōn* *ntumuhlg*
K'nimītōn *k'tumuhlg'n*
W'nimītōn *w'tumuhlg'n*
N'nimītōnēn *ntumuhlg'nēn*
K'nimītōnēn *k'tumuhlg'nēn*
K'nimītōnia *k'tumuhlg'nūwa*
W'nimītōnia *w'tumuhlg'nūwa*

PLURAL.

n'ndmītōnal *ntamdhigān-al* 'I see my axes'
k'ndmītōnal *k'tamdhigān-al* 'thou seest thy axes'
undmītōnal *utamdhigān-al* 'he sees his axes'
n'namītōndna-wal *ntamdhiganna-wal* 'we (excl.) see our axes'
k'namītōndna-wal *k'tamdhiganna-wal* 'we (incl.) see our axes'
k'namītōnal *k'tamahigan-owōnhl* 'you see your axes'
undmītōnal *utamahigan-owōnhl* 'they see their axes'.

Pass. *N'nimītōn'l* *ntumuhlg'n'l*
K'nimītōn'l *ktumuhlg'n'l*
W'nimītōn'l *w'tumuhlg'n'l*
N'nimītōndnewul *ntumuhlg'nun*
K'nimītōndnewul *ktumuhlg'nun*
K'nimītōnia *k'tumuhlg'nūwal*
Unimītōnia *w'tumuhlg'nūwal*.

It will be observed that when the noun begins with a vowel, a dental *d* or *t* is generally inserted after the pronominal prefix. This is peculiar to all the Algic idioms and applies in Abn. also to nouns beginning with *l* as *kd-lonhd-waonhgan* 'thy language; Pass. *kt-ladwewagon*. It should be noticed also that nouns denoting a part of the body and beginning with *m* lose this *m* before the pron. prefixes; thus, *mhaga* 'body', but *k'aga* 'thy body', etc. In ancient Abn. we find in the case of nouns commencing with *w* the third personal prefix *a* instead of *u*; thus, *awigwam* 'his house', but mod. *uwigwom*. This is plainly vocalic differentiation.

Before proceeding especially to the distinctively verbal inflexion, we should comment on the following seven modifications of the substantive which appear in Abenaki.

1. Most noteworthy of these is the obviative or accusative ending which appears *only* when the *animate* noun stands in connexion with a third person. This accident, which is peculiar to all the Algic dialects, is denoted in the ancient idiom by the endings *ar, ür, r* which the modern speech has changed to simple *-a*. In Penobscot and Pass. however, the original *r* appears as *l* in the singular. The following three instances will illustrate the application of this form. It occurs; a) when the noun is the object of a transitive verb in the third person, e. g. OA. *unamihanhr aremusar*; Mod. *unamihon alemosa* 'he sees the dog'; Pass. *unimihal ha-aswul* 'he sees the horse'; b) when the noun is connected with the third personal prefix *o, w* in the sg. or pl., i. e. *ud-anhgem-ar*, Mod. *ud onhgem-a* 'his snow-shoe', and c) when it is necessary to express an indirect object or a dative. Thus, in OA. *akwirdawanhr sawanhan namesar* 'the eagle swoops down on the fish', Mod. *umilonhn alnomba-a awikhigan* 'he gives to the man a book'. We should compare here the Penobscot *wechinikasinil Ponce Pilatal* 'he was tried before Pontius Pilate' and Pass. *umilan haaswul skidapyil* 'he gives the man a horse'. In the modern Abn. and the Lenapé there is no distinction

between the endings of the obv. sg. and pl., but in OA.¹⁾ and Pass. the pl. has a distinct form; OA. *ud-aremus-a* 'his dogs', Pass. *ha-aso* 'horses' (obv.).

It should be noticed that there is no trace in Abn., Pass. or Lenapé of the so-called Sur-obviative or third third person of the Cree and Ojibwe.

2. The locative in Abn. *-ek, -k*, denotes the place where and may be translated by a number of prepositions, e. g. at, from, in, into, on, to, through, under, etc., most of which are expressed in the verb itself. The following examples will illustrate the use of this accident. a) It generally means 'to, unto' with verbs of motion; cf. *n'paionh wigwomek* 'I come to the house' but some verbs of going do not require that the place-name shall be locative. Thus, *ndelosan Molian* 'I am going (to) Montreal'. b) It means 'from' in such instances as *wajih'la-an wigwomek* 'he comes from the house', *naudosa wigwomek* 'come out of the house', where the idea 'from' is really in the verb. c) At or in a locality is always expressed by the locative, e. g. *sanoba odanak* 'the man is in town'. d) In OA. the loc. could be used adverbially in such expressions as *presege ergiruk* 'as large as a pigeon', but I find no trace of such a usage in the modern dialect. The loc. may be regularly affixed to nouns with the pronominal prefixes and suffixes. Thus, *uwigwomek* 'in his house'; *k'wigwomek* 'in our house', etc.

3. There is no form of vocative singular in modern Abenaki, but we find distinct traces of such a modification in the older language. The voc. plural, however, the characteristic ending of which is *-tok*, still survives in Abn. and Pass.; thus, Abn. *nidombamtok*! 'O my friends!' Pass. *nidabétuk*. I am inclined to connect this (*-tok, -tuk*) with the dubitative *-tok, -itok*, appearing in Cree, Algonquin and Ojibwe verbs. This *nidombamtok* would mean 'my friends

¹⁾ OA = Old Abenaki.

as many of you as there may be'. This dubitative force of *-tok* has been lost in the Abn. idioms.

4. The possessive suffix *-m, -im, -om*; probably identical with the demonstrative pronominal element seen in *ag'ma* 'he, she' is very common in Abenaki. Thuz, *nkaoz-em* 'my cow', *nd-a-as-om* 'my horse' etc. This form occurs in all the Algic idioms except Blackfoot.

5. The sign of the diminutive in OA. was *-is* appended to nouns ending with a consonant or *-u*; as *temehigan-is* 'little axe'. This usually appears in the modern dialect as *-sis*, cf. *noxkwa-sis* 'little girl', but often as *-is*, as in *pzo-is* 'wild cat', from *pzo*. We may compare Lenape *-tit, -khikh* in *okhkekhtit, okhkekikhik* 'little girl'. To denote an extreme diminutive sense this *-sis* is frequently reduplicated, as *awonhsis-sis* 'very little child'.

6. Abenaki nouns may have a past termination. Thus in OA. we find the endings *-a*, exclusively with sing. animates, cf. *n'miltonhguesa* 'my dead father', *-e*, used with both animates and inanimates only in the singular, e. g. *kd-akina-we* 'our lost land' and *ga, pan* for animates and inanimates in both sing. and pl.; thus *Nanhranht-swaniga* 'the old Norridgewoks' and *Mari-Sose-piskwe-pan* 'Mary who was the wife of Joseph'. In the modern dialect, however, we see the earlier inanimate *-e* changed to *-a*, as in *nib'na* 'last summer' and the ending *ga* affixed to nouns of both classes, to denote a past condition; *n'miltonhguesga* 'my dead father'; *n'pask-higanga* 'the gun I had', etc.

7. Finally, we note in Abn. and Pass. the moveable future sign *-ji (-ch)* which may be affixed indifferently either to nouns or verbs; cf. *Molianji nd-elosan* 'I shall go to Montreal', or *Molian ndelosanji*. This appears also in Pass. in such forms as *kuik-himulch sepatinu apch* or *kuik-himul sepatinu apch* 'I shall write to you to-morrow'.

So far as I am aware, there is no interrogative state in either Abn. or Pass. This occurs very prominently in the Algonquin dialect of Ojibwe.

In all the Algic dialects the genitive relation is expressed by means of genitive apposition; cf. *sanoba uwigwom* 'the man his house', i. e. the man's house'.

The simplest form of the verb from which all the other modifications may be said to be formed is the imperative. Thus, from the animate form *namiha* 'see thou', which is inflected *namionhij* 'let him see', *namionhda* 'let us see', *namiökw* 'see ye' and *namionhdij* 'let them see' we get the present *n'namihon*, etc. In the same way, from the inanimate *namito* (*namitoj*, *namitoda*, *namilogw*, *namitodij*) we get the inanimate forms *n'namilo*, *n'namiton*, etc.

There is practically only one tense in Abenaki verbal inflection, i. e., the present and this is really a principle with prefixes and suffixes. This appears, however, in four distinct forms; the animate definite, the inanimate def., the animate indefinite and the inanimate indefinite. Of these we have already given examples of the animate and inanimate definite forms (see above). Thus, in order to express the idea 'he sees the snow-shoe' they say *unamihon onhgema*, but 'he sees a snow-shoe' is *namiha onhgema*; in the same way *unamiton tamahigan* 'he sees the axe' but *namito tamahigan* 'he sees an axe'. As the two definite forms have already been illustrated, I give herewith the indefinite conjugation.

ANIMATE INDEFINITE.		INANIMATE INDEFINITE.	
<i>n'namionh mosbas</i>	'I see a mink'	<i>n'namito wigoom</i>	'I see a house'
<i>k'namionh mosbas</i>	»	<i>k'namito wigoom</i>	»
<i>namia mosbasa</i> ¹⁾	»	<i>namito wigoom</i> ²⁾	»
<i>n'namionhb'na mosbas</i>	»	<i>k'namitob'na wigoom</i>	»
<i>k'namionhb'na mosbas</i>	»	<i>k'namitob'na wigoom</i>	»
<i>k'namionhba mosbas</i>	»	<i>k'namitoba wigoom</i>	»
<i>namiak mosbasa</i>	»	<i>namitoak wigoom</i>	»

As will be noted by a comparison of these forms with those of the definite conjugation the points of difference in

¹⁾ Obviative.

²⁾ Not obviative because inanimate.

the indefinite verb are in the third person sing., and throughout the plural. Although there is really only one tense, we find a number of endings which may be affixed to the present to express past relation, as well as the future, conditional and subjunctive ideas. These are, for the past, *-b* (*ab*, *-ob*, *-onhb*), as *n'namitonab pask-higan* 'I saw the gun', for the future *-ji*, already mentioned above, as *n'namionji mosbas* 'I shall see the mink (or a mink)', for the conditional *-ba*, *n'namitonba wigwom* 'I should see the house' and for the subjunctive *-assa*, pl. *ossa*, as *unamitonassa wigwom* 'that he might see the house' or *k'namitonanossa* 'that we might see', etc. As already stated, the particle *kizi* is also used as a prefix to denote the perfect past as *n'kizi-namilton wigwom* 'I have seen the house'. Besides these modifications, there is also a well developed passive voice which is expressed by adding the suffix *-gwzi* to the present tense, as *n'namiogwzi* 'I am seen', *namiogwzo* 'he is seen', plural *k'namiogwezib'na* 'we are seen', *namiogwzoak* 'they are seen', etc. The tense endings *-b*, *-ji*, and *-ba* are regularly affixed to this form as in the active. The ending *-zi*, third person *-zo*, is the regular reflexive termination; cf. *nd-agakim-zi* 'I teach myself', e. g. 'I learn'.

The most difficult features of the Abenaki verbs are undoubtedly the treatment of the tenses and of the complicated participial system when the forms are combined with the personal pronouns as objects of the verbal action. This can best be shown by a sketch of the present tense as it appears when so combined and of one of the participial variations. It will be noted that in the combined forms, the second person always takes precedence over the first, and the first person over the third. Thus in *k'nāmiol* 'I see thee', *k'namioḃ'na* 'thou seest us' *k'nāmiḃiba* 'you see me' and *k'nāmiob'na* 'you see us' the prefixed *k* is the pronoun of the second person. In such forms, however, as *n'namion* 'I see him', *k'namionna* 'we see him', the first person

THE ABENAKI VERB

	ME	THEE	HIM (an.)	IT (inan.)
I		<i>k'nāmiol¹</i>	<i>n'nāmionh</i>	<i>n'nāmiton</i>
THOU	<i>k'nāmihi</i>		<i>k'nāmionh</i>	<i>k'nāmiton</i>
HE	}	<i>n'nāmiok</i>	<i>k'nāmionh</i>	<i>unāmionh</i>
SHE				
IT				<i>unāmiton</i>
WE (incl.)		<i>k'nāmiolb'na</i>	<i>k'nāmionna</i>	<i>k'nāmitonana</i>
YOU	<i>k'nāmihibā</i>		<i>k'nāmiowonh</i>	<i>k'nāmitononh</i>
THEY	<i>n'nāmiogok</i>	<i>k'nāmiogok</i>	<i>unāmiowonh</i>	<i>unāmitononh</i>

NEGATIVE FORMS,

I		<i>k'nāmiolo</i>	<i>n'nāmionhwe</i>	<i>n'nāmitowcen</i>
THOU	<i>k'nāmihiū</i>		<i>k'nāmionhwe</i>	<i>k'nāmitowcen</i>
HE	<i>n'nāmiogowe</i>	<i>k'nāmiogowe</i>	<i>unāmionhwe</i>	<i>unāmitowcen</i>
WE		<i>k'nāmiolob'na</i>	<i>k'nāmiowinna</i>	<i>l'nāmitowenana</i>
YOU	<i>k'nāmihippa</i>		<i>k'nāmiowonh</i>	
THEY	<i>n'nāmiogowiak</i>	<i>k'nāmiogowiak</i>	<i>unāmiowonh</i>	<i>unāmitowonowonh</i>

THE PARTICIPLE.

I		<i>nāmiolan</i>	<i>nāmiōk</i>	<i>nāmitōk</i>
THOU	<i>nāmihian</i>		<i>nāmiho-an</i>	<i>nāmito-an</i>
HE	<i>nāmiyit</i>	<i>nāmiog-an</i>	<i>nāmiōd</i>	<i>nāmitōk</i>
WE (excl.)		<i>nāmiolak</i>	<i>nāmi-ōk</i>	<i>nāmito-ak</i>
YOU	<i>nāmihiba</i>		<i>nāmionkw</i>	<i>nāmitowokw</i>
THEY	<i>nāmiidit</i>		<i>nāmiōdit</i>	<i>nāmitōdit</i>

¹) The consonant *h* is so nearly silent that it may be omitted in forms like *k'nāmiol-k'nāmiol*.

WITH INCORPORATED OBJECT.

Us (incl.)	You	THEM (an.)	THEM (inan.)
<i>k'nāmiōb'na</i>	<i>k'nāmiolba</i>	<i>n'nāmionk</i>	<i>n'nāmitonal</i>
		<i>k'nāmionk</i>	<i>k'nāmitonal</i>
<i>k'nāmiogonna</i>	<i>k'nāmiogwon</i>	<i>unāmionk</i>	<i>unāmitonal</i>
	<i>k'nāmiolb'na</i>	<i>k'nāmionnawak</i>	<i>k'nāmitonanaawal</i>
<i>k'nāmiōb'na</i>		<i>k'nāmiowok</i>	<i>k'nāmitonowal</i>
<i>k'nāmiogonnawak</i>	<i>k'nāmiogwak</i>	<i>unāmiowok</i>	<i>unāmitonowal</i>
ALWAYS WITH <i>nda</i> 'NOT.'			
	<i>k'nāmioloppa</i>	<i>n'nāmiowiak</i>	<i>n'nāmitowenal</i>
<i>k'nāmiopp'na</i>		<i>k'nāmiowiak</i>	<i>k'nāmitowenal</i>
<i>k'nāmiogowinna</i>	<i>k'nāmiogowon</i>	<i>unāmiowiak</i>	<i>unāmitowenal</i>
	<i>k'nāmiolob'na</i>	<i>k'nāmiowinnawak</i>	<i>k'nāmitowenanaawal</i>
<i>k'nāmiopp'na</i>		<i>k'nāmiowicok</i>	<i>k'nāmitowunowal</i>
<i>k'nāmiogocinnawak</i>	<i>k'nāmiogowicok</i>	<i>unāmiowicok</i>	<i>unāmitowunowal</i>

appears in the first place. The sign of the negative is the infixed *o*-vowel which appears occasionally as *u* and occasionally as *-ow*. Thus, we have *nda k'nāmiol-o* 'I do not see thee', *nda k'nāmihiū* 'you do not see me', *nda k'nāmiowinnawak* 'we see them not', etc. The word *nda* 'not' must precede all these negative forms. The tense endings *-b*, *-ji* are affixed regularly to all these combined forms; thus, *knāmiolob* 'I saw thee', *knamiolji* 'I shall see thee' *knamiowokji* 'you will see them' etc.

The use of the participle in Abn. is most varied. It may be used to take the place of the relative pronoun as *wa noxkwa k'zalmok* 'this is the girl whom I love'; *wa noxkwa k'zalmōan* 'this is the girl thou lovest', etc., or it may be used simply to denote the action of the verb governed by a preposition, i. e. what we should call the infinitive relation, as *n'paionh waji namiolan* 'I came in order to see thee', or it may appear as a conditional, as *namiolana* 'if I see thee', *namihiana* 'if thou seest me'. The accompanying paradigms will illustrate the general form of the participial modifications, in the singular.

The negative of the participle is formed in the same way as the negative of the finite form; cf. *nda namiolowana* 'if I do not see thee'. To construct the conditional from the above participial forms the *a*-vowel is added, which has the effect of changing a final *t* to *d* and *k* to *g*; thus, *namiyut* becomes *namiyida* 'if he sees me' and *namiok* becomes *namioga* 'if I see him', etc. The subjunctive particle *-za*, *-sa* may be affixed to these forms, in order to express the idea 'perhaps if I-' e. g. *namiokza noxkwa* 'if indeed I saw (or should see) a girl'.

It should be noted finally in this connexion that the *-d*, *-l* and *-k* endings of the animate and inanimate third person he-it are the regular adjectival endings. Thus, we find *wonhbigit sanoba* 'a white man', but *wonhbigek asolkwon* 'a white hat (inan.)'. Adjectives in these dialects are nearly all participial modifications and agree with their nouns in

The modern Dialect of the Canadian Abenakis. 19

class and number, except a few so-called inseparable forms like *k'chi* 'big', e. g. *kchi sanoba* 'big man', which are indeclinable.

It should be remarked that practically all the verbs in Abn. are conjugated after the same model, a few minor differences excepted like the use of the definite endings *-dam*, *-damen* or *-em*, *-emen* for *-to*, *-ton* in the third person inanimate; cf. *nk'zaldamen wigwom* 'I like the house' *nk'zaldam wigwom* 'I like a house' or *n'wajone-men wigwom* 'I have the house', etc.

The numerals in Abenaki up to five present three forms, i. e. a form used only in counting, and participial forms for the animate and inanimate. Thus, we find *pazekw*, one, *nis* 'two', *nas* 'three', *iaw* 'four' and *nonhlan* 'five', but

<i>pazego sanoba</i> 'one man'	<i>nizwak sanobak</i> 'two men'
<i>pazegwen asolkwon</i> 'one hat'	<i>niznol asolkwonol</i> 'two hats'
<i>n'loak sanobak</i> 'three men'	<i>iawcak sanobak</i> 'four men'
<i>n'henol asolkwonol</i> 'three hats'	<i>iawnol asolkwonol</i> 'four hats'.
<i>nonnoak sanobak</i> 'five men'	
<i>nonnenol asolkwonol</i> 'five hats'.	

Above five the numerals are indeclinable, as *ngwedonhz sanobak* 'six men'. There is no trace of peculiar numerals used only with certain classes of substantive, for example, for round objects such as occur in Ojibwe¹⁾.

In order to illustrate the relation in which the Abenaki stands to the other Algonquian languages I give here a table of the numerals as far as ten, in five of the idioms.

ABN.	ALGONQUIN.	CREE.	PASS.	LENAPE.
<i>Pazekw</i>	<i>peshik</i>	<i>piak</i>	<i>nekwt</i>	<i>ngutti</i>
<i>nis</i>	<i>nizho</i>	<i>nishu</i>	<i>tabu</i>	<i>nisha</i>
<i>nas</i>	<i>niso</i>	<i>nistu</i>	<i>sist</i>	<i>nakha</i>

¹⁾ Cf. in Ojibwe the ending *-minug* which is employed only for globular objects in connexion with numerals; thus, *nanominug chisug* 'five turnips' but *nanishik wabigin* 'five breadths of cloth', the ending *-shk* being applied especially to breadths of cloth.

20 *J. Dyneley Prince, The modern Dialect, etc.*

ABN.	ALGONQUIN.	CREE.	PASS.	LENAPE.
<i>iao</i>	<i>neu</i>	<i>newu</i>	<i>neu</i>	<i>newo</i>
<i>nonhlan</i>	<i>nanan</i>	<i>nialul</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>palenash</i>
<i>ngwedonhz</i>	<i>ningotcassi</i>	<i>nikutwassik</i>	<i>hamachin</i>	<i>guttash</i>
<i>tonbaconhz</i>	<i>nizhuwassi</i>	<i>nishwassik</i>	<i>lewig'nuk</i>	<i>nishash</i>
<i>nsonhzh</i>	<i>niswassi</i>	<i>yananeu</i>	<i>og'mulchin</i>	<i>khash</i>
<i>nolivoi</i>	<i>shangaswi</i>	<i>shakitat</i>	<i>eskwnadek</i>	<i>peshonk</i>
<i>mdala</i>	<i>mitaswi</i>	<i>mitat</i>	<i>m'tellen</i>	<i>tellen.</i>

As a further illustration of the close resemblance between the modern Abenaki and the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy I give here in conclusion a short anecdote in all three languages with interlinear translation.

Abn. *Nijia ndonhdokaokw nauncat kizgat nizigad'n awodowak m'dea-
ulinwak.*

Pen. *Nijia ndonhdonhkeuhw nauncat kizgong'sigad'n awodihid'wah
m'deaulin'wak.*

Pass. *Nzives ntulag'nod'mah piche hihakesisgd'n madndolittit mteau-
linwuk.*

English. My brother told me long ago there quarrelled certain wi-
zards.

Abn. *Pezgotwa unihlawwa umonhjip-hon m'nahanok adali mospiguk
adali*

Pen. *Pezgowal unihlaonhl umonhjip-hana m'na'noge edali spasēgek
edali*

Pass. *Beskwol une'p-hania umojep-hania mnd'nok ed'li spasēgek
nitt ed'li*

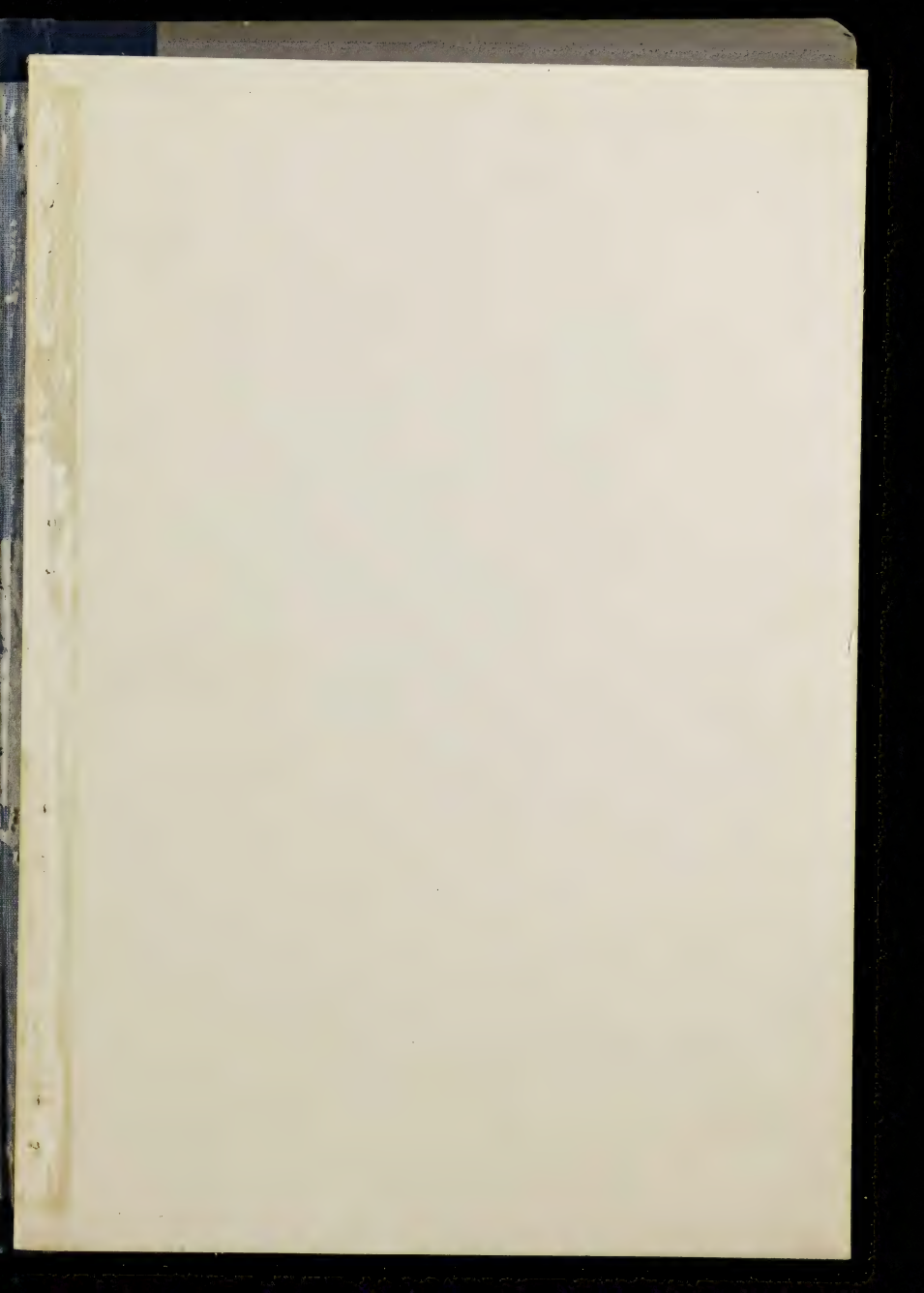
English. One (of them) they killed. They brought him to the island
where there was a steep ledge of rock; There.

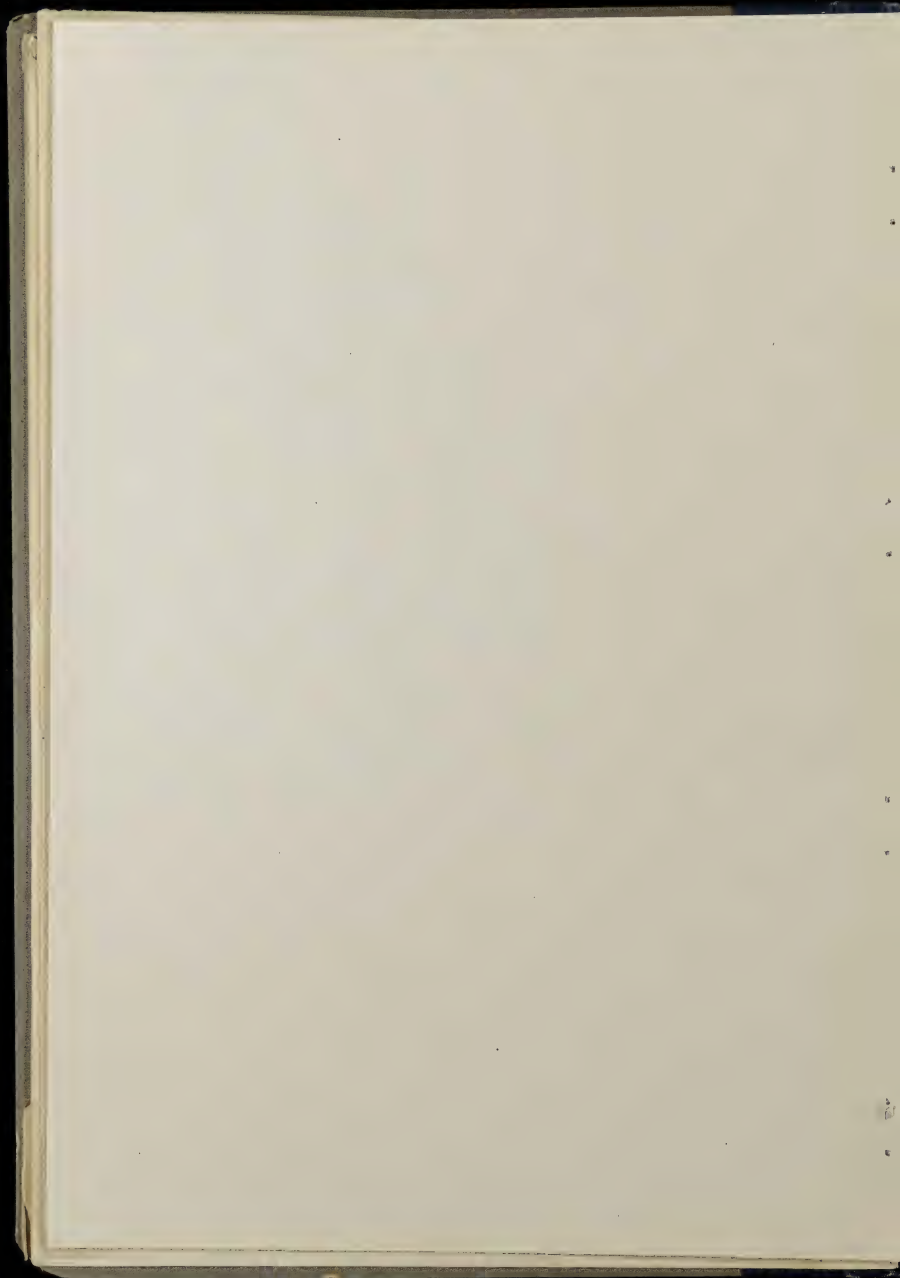
Abn. *poldidit.*

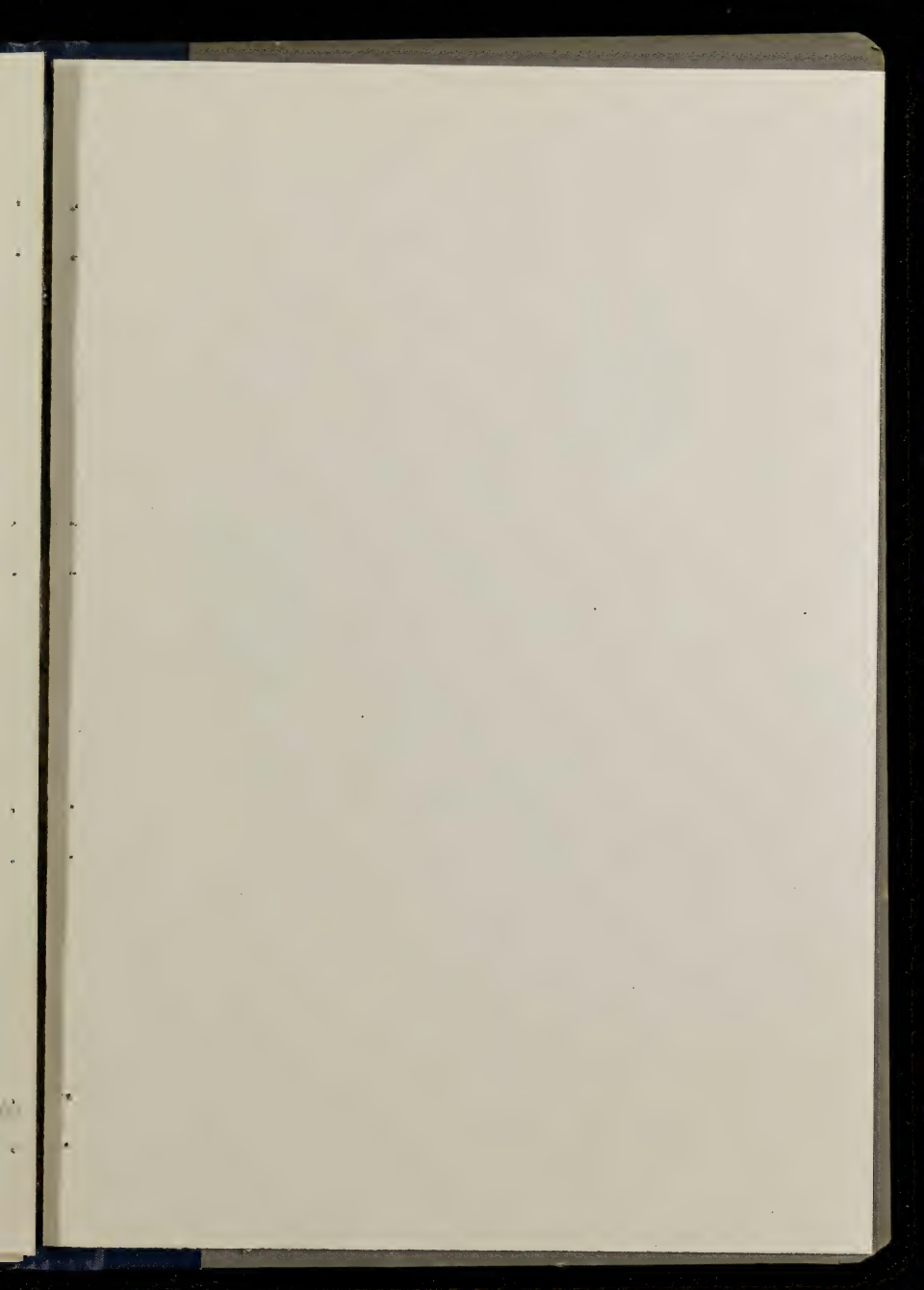
Pen. *poldihidit.*

Pass. *polittit.*

English. They ate him.







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AYER

Abnaki

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